

ROUTING AND TRANSMITTAL SLIP

Date 9/20/84

TO: (Name, office symbol, room number, building, Agency/Post)		Initials	Date
1. [Redacted]			
2. Deputy Executive Secretary			
3. Room 7 E 13			
4. Headquarters CIA			
5.			
Action	File	Note and Return	
Approval	For Clearance	Per Conversation	
As Requested	For Correction	Prepare Reply	
Circulate	For Your Information	See Me	
Comment	Investigate	Signature	
Coordination	Justify		

REMARKS

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

This is for your information per our conversation.

Jim -
The note from Holt
The attached let from Bennett (Holt)
to Rees should be from Bennett (Holt)
1) cc: DOW for info
2) put of phy in your fly
(don't believe a lot of the back up
needs be kept since it is already
in our files)
(This relates to memo sent
Kenneth last week)
for

DO NOT use this form as a RECORD of approvals, concurrences, disposals, clearances, and similar actions

FROM: (Name, org. symbol, Agency/Post) Mr. P. Peter Sarros ARA/CEN New State	Room No.—Bldg. 4915 Phone No. 632-4316
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5041-102

OPTIONAL FORM 41 (Rev. 7-76)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.206

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

Executive Registry

84 - 9208/1

20 September 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary
National Security Council

SUBJECT : Reply to Congressman Pease's Inquiries
Regarding Central America [redacted]

1. This is in response to your 18 September memorandum forwarding DoD's proposed response to Congressman Pease. Since the Congressman was reacting to a briefing on U.S. policy, in our judgment it would be best for CIA not to become associated with this response. [redacted]

2. You should, however, be aware that we, too, received a letter from Congressman Pease and have already provided him a response (copy attached). Inasmuch as our letter indicated the inappropriateness of our responding to matters of US policy, I believe it best that we not be involved in any further response to him. [redacted]

Executive Secretary

cc: Charles Hill
Executive Secretary
Department of State

R. J. Affourtit
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

Attachment:
As stated

Distribution: (all w/att)

Orig - Addressee
1 - Each cc
1 - DCI
1 - DDCI
1 - EXDIR
1 - D/OLL
1 - ER

CONFIDENTIAL

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EXEC
REG

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

24 August 1984

The Honorable Donald J. Pease
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Pease:

Your letter to the Director of August 17, 1984 addresses issues, which you note, follow, at least in part, from General Gorman's briefing and from the joint State Department and Pentagon paper entitled "Nicaragua's Buildup and Support for Central American Subversion." I understand that the Department of Defense received a letter identical to the one sent to us.

Your questions address U.S. policy; hence, I have taken the liberty of forwarding your letter to the Department of State for coordination with the Department of Defense. We, of course, will cooperate with State in the preparation of the response.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Charles A. Briggs".

Charles A. Briggs
Director, Office of Legislative Liaison

D/OLL 200**IMMEDIATE**Form 160c
3-65

(13)

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
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Remarks

Please ensure that response is cleared through DDCI and DCI.

25X1

Executive Secretary
18 Sept 84

Date

3637 (10-81)

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
ROUTING SLIP

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SUSPENSE		COR 20 Sept Date			

Remarks

Please ensure that response is cleared through DDCI and DCI.

D/ Executive Secretary
18 Sept 84

Date

3637 (10-81)

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CONFIDENTIAL
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

6372

VIA LDX

CONFIDENTIAL

September 18, 1984

Executive Registry

84- 9208

AH.OL 84-25972B

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES HILL
 Executive Secretary
 Department of State

Executive Secretary
 Central Intelligence Agency

25X1

SUBJECT: Congressional correspondence regarding Central
 America (U)

The Department of Defense has prepared a letter to Congressman Don J. Pease (Tab A) responding to his inquiries regarding Central America (Tab B). It is our understanding that State and CIA also received identical letters from Congressman Pease. (U)

Defense has proposed that a single coordinated response be provided to the Congressman. The NSC agrees that this would be appropriate given the sensitivity of the issues and the fact that much of the information requested could be classified. Would you, therefore, review the proposed response prepared by Defense (Tab A) to determine whether or not additional information should be included and if a single response is appropriate. Your views would be appreciated by close of business Friday, September 21, 1984. (C)

Robert M. Kimmitt
 Robert M. Kimmitt
 Executive Secretary

cc: R. J. Affourtit
 Executive Secretary
 Department of Defense

Attachments

Tab A - Defense Proposed ltr to Congressman Pease
 Tab B - Congressman Pease ltr to Weinberger of August 17, 1984

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
 INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

CONFIDENTIAL
 Declassify: OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

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 REG

6372 ADD ON



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

September 11, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR COMMANDER PAUL B. THOMPSON, USN
DEPUTY EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
ROOM 372, OEOB

SUBJECT: Congressional Correspondence

I earlier sent Bob a memorandum regarding the letter from Congressman Pease about operations in Central America (my memorandum and Congressman Pease's letter are attached). Per our telecon attached is our staff's recommended response to Congressman Pease, which you may want to incorporate into a joint response, i.e., DoD, CIA, State, and NSC.



R. J. Afford

Attachments



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Honorable Don J. Pease
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman:

This is in response to your letter of 17 August in which you raised several questions regarding support and supply of the Salvadoran guerrillas. As you are aware, during late July and early August when the FY84 supplemental security assistance for El Salvador was under consideration, Ambassador Pickering and General Gorman conducted extensive briefings for the Congress on this subject. These briefings were followed by a press conference on 8 August in which previously classified material was released to the public. Both the Congressional briefings and the press conference as well as the Background Paper published on 18 July addressed extensively and in detail the questions you have raised regarding the Salvadoran guerrilla support structure and the question of interdiction. A transcript of the Pickering/Gorman press briefing is provided for your review. It reinforces the composite picture of Nicaragua's involvement in the Salvadoran guerrilla support system discussed in the Background Paper.

Your letter also requested an explanation regarding a perceived contradiction between a draft report and the final published version on the matter of the constancy of Nicaragua's support to the Salvadoran guerrillas. Changes made to the draft report do not represent any new information but rather provide a more accurate characterization of the situation.

The bill of particulars requested pertaining to actions undertaken by the Government of Nicaragua during the past five years against US armed forces is as follows: (1) On 7 June 1982, a Nicaraguan patrol boat fired on a US helicopter launched from the USS Trippe while in international waters; (2) On 2 September 1982, two armed Nicaraguan SP-260's conducted a fly-by of the USS Spruance in international waters; (3) On 11 January 1984, a US Army light observation helicopter in Honduras was fired on by the Nicaraguan Army from the Nicaraguan side of the border killing Warrant Officer Jeffrey Schwab.

Allegations that Salvadoran officers are involved in selling arms to the guerrillas are not substantiated by available evidence.

Questions of actions taken against US citizens or their property by the Government of Nicaragua are properly the purview of the State Department, as are questions concerning alleged human rights abuses and the release of Human Rights Commission reports.

The situation in Central America is very complex and important to the security interests of the United States. I hope this response is helpful in assisting your deliberations on this matter.

Sincerely,

Attachment
a/s

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301



THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

84 AUG 29 AIO: 20, 1984
August 20, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT M. KIMMITT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Congressional Correspondence

Attached is a letter to Secretary Weinberger from Congressman Pease concerning operations in Central America. It is my understanding that similar letters (if not identical) went to State and CIA. In light of this, do you think it would be appropriate that one letter go back to Congressman Pease rather than three separate letters? The issue is significantly sensitive that NSC may want to coordinate the response. Please advise.


R. E. Affronti

Attachment

cc: DUSD(P)
ASD(ISA)

OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

August 17, 1984

The Honorable Caspar Weinberger
 Secretary of Defense
 The Pentagon
 Washington, D. C. 20301

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In early August, General Paul F. Gorman, Commander of the United States Command in Panama, told the Congress that a guerilla offensive in El Salvador was imminent and that additional U. S. military aid to the Salvadoran Army was needed right away. The Congress responded on August 10 by including more than \$70 million in additional military aid in the FY '84 Supplemental Appropriations Bill. Moreover, the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee has recommended approval of \$123 million in military aid to El Salvador for Fiscal Year 1985.

I continue to have serious questions with respect to how the Salvadoran guerillas secure the arms and ammunition they need to keep fighting. General Gorman and Ambassador Pickering are the most recent witnesses to appear before the Congress to argue that most of the weapons, ammunition, and equipment comes from Communist bloc countries and is funneled through Nicaragua. But the reconnaissance photographs and other evidence cited, to date, to substantiate allegations of widespread Nicaraguan involvement in the Salvadoran insurgency are inconclusive. Accordingly, I am requesting specific and prompt answers to the following questions along with full compliance in my request for supporting documentation and intelligence information.

(1) Drawing upon all U. S. intelligence-gathering sources and capabilities, describe in as much detail as possible the FMLN support and supply structure with specific attention to all sources of outside support. I am finding it difficult to evaluate current U. S. policy and to assess its likely effectiveness in suppressing the Salvadoran insurgency if U. S. intelligence resources are restricted to demonstrating Nicaraguan involvement rather than describing the system we are supposed to be attacking.

(2) On June 28 an advance copy of a joint State Department and Pentagon background paper entitled "Nicaragua's Buildup and Support for Central American Subversion" was delivered to my office. In the subsection entitled "The Nicaraguan Supply Operations for the Salvadoran Guerillas" a pivotal paragraph states:

68269

The Honorable Caspar Weinberger
August 17, 1984

Page Two

"The rate of flow of supplies to guerrillas in El Salvador has varied, depending on a number of factors. During the initial rapid build-up period of November 1980 to January 1981, the flow was heavy and arms plus ammunition made up much of the shipments. Since then, except for special periods when new guerrilla units were being equipped or immediately before a major offensive, the flow has been sporadic. Ammunition, medicines, clothing--rather than weapons--often made up the bulk of the shipments. The arms needs of the guerrilla units have been basically satisfied, except for replacements and arms for newly created guerrilla units."

On July 19, the final version of the same background paper was delivered to my office. But the aforementioned paragraph was changed to read as follows:

"The rate and composition of the supply flow to guerrillas in El Salvador has varied, depending on a number of factors. During the initial rapid build-up from November 1980 to January 1981, arms and ammunition made up much of the shipments and the flow in arms was heavy. Since then, the Salvadoran guerrillas and their mentors in Managua have varied the flow of arms and supplies, depending on their tactical requirements and the interdiction efforts they have encountered. Throughout, there has been a steady flow of ammunition, explosives, medicines, and clothing. There have also been sporadic increases in the movement of guerrilla weapons to meet the demands of planned offensives or the organization of new guerrilla groups."

Apparently, your judgment on arms flow from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerrillas changed substantially in the space of three weeks. How could the arms flow from Nicaragua be sporadic at the end of June with the needs of the guerrillas being basically satisfied and then be described by mid-July as a steady flow being directed from Managua? (In this time frame, there was no semblance of a guerrilla offensive in El Salvador. There was no appreciable increase in the number of Salvadoran guerrillas taking up guns. There was no significant interdiction of smuggled arms or ammunition by the Salvadoran Army despite constant U. S. surveillance.) Please explain the obvious shift in your position.

(3) For more than three years, our government has been actively supporting the efforts of the Salvadoran armed forces who are trying to stop arms flow from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerrillas. Our intelligence-gathering capabilities have been trained on this supply relationship. Please provide me with a complete quantified factual report on the material support (as distinguished from moral, political or diplomatic support) given by Nicaragua to the FMLN insurgents in El Salvador. I expect to receive solid estimates of amounts, types of supplies, and dates and places of delivery.

The Honorable Caspar Weinberger
August 17, 1984

Page Three

(4) How many times have shipments of arms and/or ammunition from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerillas by air, sea, or land been interrupted and captured from April 1981 to the present? Please tell me what was captured, when, where, and how.

(5) Please submit the following bill of particulars pertaining to actions of the current Government of Nicaragua:

- a) a listing of all actions taken by the Government of Nicaragua that show damage to the lives or property of U. S. citizens within Nicaragua;
- b) a listing of all damage to the lives or property of U. S. citizens or of citizens of other countries resulting from actions of the Government of Nicaragua outside of the boundaries of Nicaragua; and
- c) a listing of any actual actions undertaken by the Government of Nicaragua during the past five years against U. S. armed forces or defense installations.

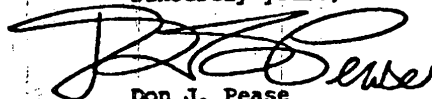
(6) What information do you have concerning allegations that the Salvadoran guerillas are able to buy arms and/or ammunition from some Salvadoran Army officers. In particular, I insist upon seeing any and all classified documents concerning the involvement of Salvadoran Army Colonel Elmer Gonzales Araujo in the selling of U. S. guns to the guerillas.

(7) If Salvadoran President Duarte is to succeed in restoring the rule of law to his war-torn country, ending human rights abuses, and promoting democratic values, then he must be able to assert control over the Salvadoran armed forces and to discipline some officers. In particular, I am concerned about the cold-blooded slaughter of as many as 74 peasants at Los Hojas on February 22, 1983. Consider this a request to see copies of all the cable traffic that relates to the Los Hojas massacre, including letters from Ambassador Hunter, sent from the U. S. Embassy in San Salvador to the State Department in Washington, D. C. between February 21, 1983 and March 31, 1983.

Why hasn't the official report of the Human Rights Commission of the Government of El Salvador pertaining to the massacre at Los Hojas been released? What disciplinary action has been taken, to date, against the Salvadoran Army officers found to be responsible for the bloodshed at Los Hojas, including Colonel Elmer Gonzales Araujo and Captain Carlos Alfonso Figueron Morales?

Your prompt attention and straightforward response to these questions and requests as soon as possible (preferably in advance of the Congress returning after Labor Day) would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,



Don J. Pease
Member of Congress

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

OLL 84-2897/3

JRA

AH. OLL 84-2897/2

24 August 1984

The Honorable Donald J. Pease
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Pease:

Your letter to the Director of August 17, 1984 addresses issues, which you note, follow, at least in part, from General Gorman's briefing and from the joint State Department and Pentagon paper entitled 'Nicaragua's Buildup and Support for Central American Subversion.' I understand that the Department of Defense received a letter identical to the one sent to us.

Your questions address U.S. policy; hence, I have taken the liberty of forwarding your letter to the Department of State for coordination with the Department of Defense. We, of course, will cooperate with State in the preparation of the response.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Briggs
Director, Office of Legislative Liaison

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25X1

C-388



Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

OLL 84-2897/4

24 August 1984

The Honorable W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for Legislative
and Intergovernmental Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I enclose the letter from Representative Donald J. Pease which I discussed with you on the phone; enclosed, also, is a copy of a reply which I sent to Mr. Pease.

As I mentioned, I also discussed this with DOD (specifically with Mike Andricos in Russ Rourke's office), who told me that Fred Ikle's office had received the same letter. Mike assumed that State had received a similar letter and said he'd have the DOD policy folks get in touch with State.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

Charles A. Briggs
Director, Office of Legislative Liaison

Enclosures

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D/OLL:CABriggs;jms (24 Aug 84)

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SUSPENSE		29 Aug 84			

Remarks

Please prepare response for
DCI's signature.

Executive Secretary

21 Aug 84

Date

Recd 21 Aug 84

DON J. PEASE
EAST DISTRICT, OHIO

Record

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT:
BILL GOULD

DISTRICT OFFICE:

MRS. NANCY YOOD
1938 COOPER-FOSTER PARK ROAD, LORAIN
(216) 282-5003

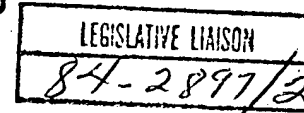
PART-TIME OFFICES:

MRS. BARBARA FLOWERS
COUNTY ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, MEDINA
(216) 725-8120MOIC BUILDING, MANSFIELD
(419) 628-6883MR. JOHN WALKER
THE CENTRE, ASHLAND
(419) 325-4184COUNTY ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, NORWALK
(419) 888-02081122 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3401COMMITTEE ON
WAYS AND MEANS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND
UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515



August 17, 1984

The Honorable William Casey
Director
Room 7B24
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C. 20505

Dear Mr. Casey:

In early August, General Paul F. Gorman, Commander of the United States Command in Panama, told the Congress that a guerilla offensive in El Salvador was imminent and that additional U. S. military aid to the Salvadoran Army was needed right away. The Congress responded on August 10 by including more than \$70 million in additional military aid in the FY '84 Supplemental Appropriations Bill. Moreover, the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee has recommended approval of \$123 million in military aid to El Salvador for Fiscal Year 1985.

I continue to have serious questions with respect to how the Salvadoran guerillas secure the arms and ammunition they need to keep fighting. General Gorman and Ambassador Pickering are the most recent witnesses to appear before the Congress to argue that most of the weapons, ammunition, and equipment comes from Communist bloc countries and is funneled through Nicaragua. But the reconnaissance photographs and other evidence cited, to date, to substantiate allegations of widespread Nicaraguan involvement in the Salvadoran insurgency are inconclusive. Accordingly, I am requesting specific and prompt answers to the following questions along with full compliance in my request for supporting documentation and intelligence information.

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The Honorable William Casey
August 17, 1984

Page Two

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The Honorable William Casey
August 17, 1984

Page Three

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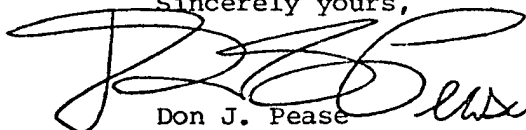
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(7) If Salvadoran President Duarte is to succeed in restoring the rule of law to his war-torn country, ending human rights abuses, and promoting democratic values, then he must be able to assert control over the Salvadoran armed forces and to discipline some officers. In particular, I am concerned about the cold-blooded slaughter of as many as 74 peasants at Los Hojas on February 22, 1983. Consider this a request to see copies of all the cable traffic that relates to the Los Hojas massacre, including letters from Ambassador Hunter, sent from the U. S. Embassy in San Salvador to the State Department in Washington, D. C. between February 21, 1983 and March 31, 1983.

Why hasn't the official report of the Human Rights Commission of the Government of El Salvador pertaining to the massacre at Los Hojas been released? What disciplinary action has been taken, to date, against the Salvadoran Army officers found to be responsible for the bloodshed at Los Hojas, including Colonel Elmer Gonzales Araujo and Captain Carlos Alfonso Figueron Morales?

Your prompt attention and straightforward response to these questions and requests as soon as possible (preferably in advance of the Congress returning after Labor Day) would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,



Don J. Pease
Member of Congress



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Congressional Correspondence Regarding Central America

With reference to the NSC memorandum of September 18 regarding the letter sent by Congressman Pease to various USG agencies (TAB A), the Department transmits herewith the reply sent to the Congressman on September 12 (TAB B). Under the circumstances, we recommend that DOD forward its reply to Congressman Pease as soon as possible since it complements the Department's reply.

Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. TAB A - The NSC Memorandum Of 9/19 Regarding The Letter Sent By Congressman Pease To Various USG Agencies
2. TAB B - Reply Sent To Congressman Pease On 9/12.

CONFIDENTIAL
DECL: OADR

Drafted:ARA:PPSarros:cdp

Cleared:ARA/CEN:JBecelia

H:JForbes

Doc. No. 4926n Ext:4316 9/19/84



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

SEP 12 1984

Dear Mr. Pease:

This responds to your letter of August 17 to the Secretary concerning Central America. My response is keyed to your numbered questions.

I understand that the Department of Defense has responded to several of the points you raised in its separate reply to you. The following, which concentrates on the remaining issues, should be considered a complement to that reply.

With respect to question (2), changes made in the draft of the Nicaragua Background Paper do not represent new information. Rather, they provide a more precise characterization of the situation. The language in the early draft gave the impression that the overall flow of all supplies from Nicaragua to guerrillas in El Salvador was sporadic. In fact, the flow of expendable supplies, including ammunition and explosives, has been steady. The flow of arms, on the other hand, has fluctuated in accordance with need. The July 19 final draft of the report accurately reflects the distinction between the flow of arms and other supplies.

You also asked for listings of all damages to lives and property of U.S. citizens or citizens of other countries, inside or outside of Nicaragua, caused by actions of the Nicaraguan Government, (questions 5(a) and 5(b)). No such comprehensive record exists, to the best of our knowledge. Illustratively, on June 21, 1983, two U.S. citizen journalists were killed in Honduras when their vehicle hit a mine near the Nicaraguan border. The U.S. concurs with the Honduran Government's determination that Nicaraguan Army members planted the mine. In addition, the Nicaraguan Government has expropriated or confiscated property of private U.S. citizens, as well as property of U.S. companies such as Amax, Standard Fruit, and Booth Industries. Some of these parties have pursued their property claims in the Nicaraguan judicial system or in direct negotiations with the Nicaraguan Government, but, as far as we know, few have received the compensation.

With respect to question (7), the United States deplores all violations of human rights, and in El Salvador we have been actively supporting the effort to end political violence and abuses of authority. We have repeatedly emphasized the need

The Honorable
Don J. Pease,
House of Representatives.

- 2 -

for Salvadoran authorities to take action against human rights offenders and, in particular, in the Las Hojas case. President Duarte has made clear his government's commitment to improving the administration of justice in El Salvador. On August 24, President Duarte signed the executive order establishing a special investigative commission to undertake a thorough investigation of several important human rights violations, including the murders at Las Hojas, and to bring to justice those responsible. We would be glad to provide a briefing on Las Hojas, including Embassy reporting on the incident, if you wish.

Sincerely,

W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.
Assistant Secretary
Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

Drafted: ARA/CEN: JRHamilton

#4620n x23381 8/30/84

Cleared: ARA/CEN: RRWyrough

JBecelia

CSShapiro

SGMcFarland

S/LPD: JBlacken

ARA: JMichel

H: JForbes

DON J. PEASE
1111 D STREET, S.W.1111 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-1401COMMITTEE ON
WAYS AND MEANS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND
UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATIONRECEIVED BY
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

P840117-1260

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

August 17, 1984

S
ACTION
is assigned to

ARA

The Honorable George Shultz
Secretary of State
21st and C Streets
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In early August, General Paul F. Gorman, Commander of the United States Command in Panama, told the Congress that a guerilla offensive in El Salvador was imminent and that additional U. S. military aid to the Salvadoran Army was needed right away. The Congress responded on August 10 by including more than \$70 million in additional military aid in the FY '84 Supplemental Appropriations Bill. Moreover, the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee has recommended approval of \$123 million in military aid to El Salvador for Fiscal Year 1985.

I continue to have serious questions with respect to how the Salvadoran guerillas secure the arms and ammunition they need to keep fighting. General Gorman and Ambassador Pickering are the most recent witnesses to appear before the Congress to argue that most of the weapons, ammunition, and equipment comes from Communist bloc countries and is funneled through Nicaragua. But the reconnaissance photographs and other evidence cited, to date, to substantiate allegations of widespread Nicaraguan involvement in the Salvadoran insurgency are inconclusive. Accordingly, I am requesting specific and prompt answers to the following questions along with full compliance in my request for supporting documentation and intelligence information.

(1) Drawing upon all U. S. intelligence-gathering sources and capabilities describe in as much detail as possible the FMLN support and supply structure with specific attention to all sources of outside support. I am finding it difficult to evaluate current U. S. policy and to assess its likely effectiveness in suppressing the Salvadoran insurgency if U. S. intelligence resources are restricted to demonstrating Nicaraguan involvement rather than describing the system we are supposed to be attacking.

(2) On June 28 an advance copy of a joint State Department and Pentagon background paper entitled "Nicaragua's Buildup and Support for Central American Subversion" was delivered to my office. In the subsection entitled "The Nicaraguan Supply Operations for the Salvadoran Guerillas" a pivotal paragraph states

AUG 21 1984

AUG 21 REC'D

(3)

THIS STATIONERY PRINTED ON PAPER MADE WITH RECYCLED FIBERS

The Honorable George Shultz
August 17, 1984

Page Two

"The rate of flow of supplies to guerrillas in El Salvador has varied, depending on a number of factors. During the initial rapid build-up period of November 1980 to January 1981, the flow was heavy and arms plus ammunition made up much of the shipments. Since then, except for special periods when guerrilla units were being equipped or immediately before a major offensive, flow has been sporadic. Ammunition, medicines, clothing--rather than weapons--often made up the bulk of the shipments. The arms needs of the guerrilla units have been basically satisfied, except for replacements and arms for newly created guerrilla units."

On July 19, the final version of the same background paper was delivered to my office. But the aforementioned paragraph was changed to read as follows:

"The rate and composition of the supply flow to guerrillas in El Salvador has varied, depending on a number of factors. During the initial rapid build-up from November 1980 to January 1981, arms and ammunition made up much of the shipments and the flow in arms was heavy. Since then, the Salvadoran guerrillas and their mentors in Managua have varied the flow of arms and supplies, depending on their tactical requirements and the interdiction efforts they have encountered. Throughout, there has been a steady flow of ammunition, explosives, medicines and clothing. There have also been sporadic increases in the movement of guerrilla weapons to meet the demands of planned offensives or the organization of new guerrilla groups."

Apparently, your judgment on arms flow from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerrillas changed substantially in the space of three weeks. How could the arms flow from Nicaragua be sporadic at the end of June with the needs of the guerrillas being basically satisfied and then be described by mid-July as a steady flow directed from Managua? (In this time frame, there was no semblance of a guerrilla offensive in El Salvador. There was no appreciable increase in the number of Salvadoran guerrillas taking up guns. There was no significant interdiction of smuggled arms or ammunition by the Salvadoran Army despite constant U. S. surveillance.) Please explain the obvious shift in your position.

(3) For more than three years, our government has been actively supporting the efforts of the Salvadoran armed forces who are trying to stop arms flow from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerrillas. Our intelligence-gathering capabilities have been trained on this supply relationship. Please provide me with a complete, quantified factual report on the material support (as distinguished from moral, political or diplomatic support) given by Nicaragua to the FMLN insurgents in El Salvador. I expect to receive solid estimates of amounts, types of supplies and dates and places of delivery.

Central Intelligence Agency

Washington D.C. 20505

24 August 1984

The Honorable W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.
Assistant Secretary for Legislative
and Intergovernmental Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I enclose the letter from Representative Donald J. Pease which I discussed with you on the phone; enclosed, also, is a copy of a reply which I sent to Mr. Pease.

As I mentioned, I also discussed this with DOD (specifically with Mike Andricos in Russ Rourke's office), who told me that Fred Ikle's office had received the same letter. Mike assumed that State had received a similar letter and said he'd have the DOD policy folks get in touch with State.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Briggs

Director, Office of Legislative Liaison

Enclosures

*Received 29 August 84
JB - We have had
given action by JI
Will you pls out
reply & pass it
Jim. SC*

25X1

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D.C. 20505

24 August 1984

The Honorable Donald J. Pease
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Pease:

Your letter to the Director of August 17, 1984 addresses issues which you note, follow, at least in part, from General Gorman's briefing and from the joint State Department and Pentagon paper entitled "Nicaragua's Buildup and Support for Central American Subversion." I understand that the Department of Defense received a letter identical to the one sent to us.

Your questions address U.S. policy; hence, I have taken the liberty of forwarding your letter to the Department of State for coordination with the Department of Defense. We, of course, will cooperate with State in the preparation of the response.

Sincerely,



Charles A. Briggs
Director, Office of Legislative Liaison

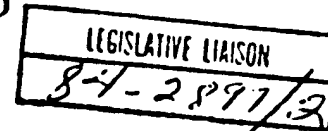
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1122 LINDEN WORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3401

COMMITTEE ON
WAYS AND MEANS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRAIN
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND
UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

August 17, 1984



MR. JOHN WALLEN
THE CENTRE, ASHLAND
(410) 328-4184
COMMITTEE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
(410) 868-4704

The Honorable William Casey
Director
Room 7B24
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C. 20505

Dear Mr. Casey:

In early August, General Paul F. Gorman, Commander of the United States Command in Panama, told the Congress that a guerilla offensive in El Salvador was imminent and that additional U. S. military aid to the Salvadoran Army was needed right away. The Congress responded on August 10 by including more than \$70 million in additional military aid in the FY '84 Supplemental Appropriations Bill. Moreover, the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee has recommended approval of \$123 million in military aid to El Salvador for Fiscal Year 1985.

I continue to have serious questions with respect to how the Salvadoran guerillas secure the arms and ammunition they need to keep fighting. General Gorman and Ambassador Pickering are the most recent witnesses to appear before the Congress to argue that most of the weapons, ammunition, and equipment comes from Communist bloc countries and is funneled through Nicaragua. But the reconnaissance photographs and other evidence cited, to date, to substantiate allegations of widespread Nicaraguan involvement in the Salvadoran insurgency are inconclusive. Accordingly, I am requesting specific and prompt answers to the following questions along with full compliance in my request for supporting documentation and intelligence information.

(1) Drawing upon all U. S. intelligence-gathering sources and capabilities, describe in as much detail as possible the FMLN support and supply structure with specific attention to all sources of outside support. I am finding it difficult to evaluate current U. S. policy and to assess its likely effectiveness in suppressing the Salvadoran insurgency if U. S. intelligence resources are restricted to demonstrating Nicaraguan involvement rather than describing the system we are supposed to be attacking.

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The Honorable William Casey
August 17, 1984

Page Two

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The Honorable William Casey
August 17, 1984

Page Three

(4) How many times have shipments of arms and/or ammunition from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerillas by air, sea, or land been interrupted and captured from April 1981 to the present? Please tell me what was captured, when, where, and how.

(5) Please submit the following bill of particulars pertaining to actions the current Government of Nicaragua:

- a) a listing of all actions taken by the Government of Nicaragua that show damage to the lives or property of U. S. citizens within Nicaragua;
- b) a listing of all damage to the lives or property of U. S. citizens or of citizens of other countries resulting from actions of the Government of Nicaragua outside of the boundaries of Nicaragua; and
- c) a listing of any actual actions undertaken by the Government of Nicaragua during the past five years against U. S. armed forces or defense installations.

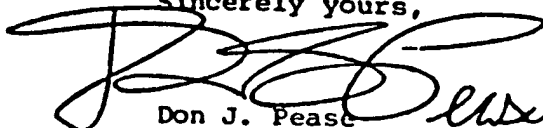
(6) What information do you have concerning allegations that the Salvadoran guerillas are able to buy arms and/or ammunition from some Salvadoran Army officers. In particular, I insist upon seeing any and all classified documents concerning the involvement of Salvadoran Army Colonel Elmer Gonzales Araujo in the selling of U. S. guns to the guerillas.

(7) If Salvadoran President Duarte is to succeed in restoring the rule of law to his war-torn country, ending human rights abuses, and promoting democratic values, then he must be able to assert control over the Salvadoran armed forces and to discipline some officers. In particular, I am concerned about the cold-blooded slaughter of as many as 74 peasants at Los Hojas on February 22, 1983. Consider this a request to see copies of all the cable traffic that relates to the Los Hojas massacre, including letters from Ambassador Hunter, sent from the U. S. Embassy in San Salvador to the State Department in Washington, D. C. between February 21, 1983 and March 31, 1983.

Why hasn't the official report of the Human Rights Commission of the Government of El Salvador pertaining to the massacre at Los Hojas been released? What disciplinary action has been taken, to date, against the Salvadoran Army officers found to be responsible for the bloodshed at Los Hojas, including Colonel Elmer Gonzales Araujo and Captain Carlos Alfonso Figueron Morales?

Your prompt attention and straightforward response to these questions and requests as soon as possible (preferably in advance of the Congress returning after Labor Day) would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,



Don J. Pease
Member of Congress

Page Denied

Questions of actions taken against US citizens or their property by the Government of Nicaragua are properly the purview of the State Department, as are questions concerning alleged human rights abuses and the release of Human Rights Commission reports.

The situation in Central America is very complex and important to the security interests of the United States. I hope this response is helpful in assisting your deliberations on this matter.

Sincerely,

Attachment
a/s

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
ACTION SLIP

DATE:

S/S CONTROL NUMBER

(Classification / Downgrader)

ACTION ASSIGNED TO:

ara

DUE IN:

S/S BY:

august 27

ACTION REQUESTED

___ STATE TO NSC MEMO
___ STATE TO OVP MEMO
___ STATE TRANSMITTAL FORM
TO NSC ___ OVP ___

___ with Draft reply for signature
by ___

___ with Comment or Recommendation
travel authorization

___ DIRECT REPLY ON BEHALF OF ___
FOR SIGNATURE BY ___

___ provide info copy under cover
of State-NSC transmittal form

☒ REPLY FOR SIGNATURE
BY *h*

___ provide comeback copy
for ___

___ RECOMMENDATION FOR ___
___ with Memorandum for the President

UNDER COVER OF AN ACTION ME
___ with reply for signature

___ APPROPRIATE HANDLING

___ FOR YOUR INFORMATION

ATTACH THIS ACTION SLIP AND ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE TO ANY SUBMISSION TO S

REMARKS/SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

CLEAR WITH:

congressional

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☒ TEAM A
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☒ TEAM C
☒ IA
☒ S/S-I (RF)
☒ MGT. ANAL.

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84 AUG 22 140:31

FROM: *Jacalyn Stein*

S/S-S

TEAM:

632-1522

B-

632-8338

C-

632-8062

CONFIDENTIAL

WHITE HOUSE DOCUMENT
Department of State
Executive Secretariat

CEN

ACTION:

ARA

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INFO TO:

Date

9/18/84

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Action Requested:

Remarks:

☐ Memorandum for the President☒ Memorandum for the White House:

Bill McFarlane

(Advanced to ARA
by Op Center)☐ Bureau Handling☐ OtherClearance: P + other bureaus +
principals as appropriate.

Due Date in S/S:

9/21 - Noon

Authorized by:

CONFIDENTIAL

Shila Lopez
S/S

ACTION: ARA

CONFIDENTIALNATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

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CONFIDENTIAL

September 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CHARLES HILL
Executive Secretary
Department of StateExecutive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

25X1

SUBJECT: Congressional correspondence regarding Central
America (U)

The Department of Defense has prepared a letter to Congressman Don J. Pease (Tab A) responding to his inquiries regarding Central America (Tab B). It is our understanding that State and CIA also received identical letters from Congressman Pease. (U)

Defense has proposed that a single coordinated response be provided to the Congressman. The NSC agrees that this would be appropriate given the sensitivity of the issues and the fact that much of the information requested could be classified. Would you, therefore, review the proposed response prepared by Defense (Tab A) to determine whether or not additional information should be included and if a single response is appropriate. Your views would be appreciated by close of business Friday, September 21, 1984. (C)

Robert M. Kimmitt
Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

cc: R. J. Affourtit
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

Attachments

Tab A - Defense Proposed ltr to Congressman Pease
Tab B - Congressman Pease ltr to Weinberger of August 17, 1984

CONFIDENTIAL
Declassify: OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

6372 ADD ON



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

September 11, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR COMMANDER PAUL B. THOMPSON, USN
DEPUTY EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
ROOM 372, OEOB

SUBJECT: Congressional Correspondence

I earlier sent Bob a memorandum regarding the letter from Congressman Pease about operations in Central America (my memorandum and Congressman Pease's letter are attached). Per our telecon attached is our staff's recommended response to Congressman Pease, which you may want to incorporate into a joint response, i.e., DoD, CIA, State, and NSC.


R. J. Aronson

Attachments



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Honorable Don J. Pease
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman:

This is in response to your letter of 17 August in which you raised several questions regarding support and supply of the Salvadoran guerrillas. As you are aware, during late July and early August when the FY84 supplemental security assistance for El Salvador was under consideration, Ambassador Pickering and General Gorman conducted extensive briefings for the Congress on this subject. These briefings were followed by a press conference on 8 August in which previously classified material was released to the public. Both the Congressional briefings and the press conference as well as the Background Paper published on 18 July addressed extensively and in detail the questions you have raised regarding the Salvadoran guerrilla support structure and the question of interdiction. A transcript of the Pickering/Gorman press briefing is provided for your review. It reinforces the composite picture of Nicaragua's involvement in the Salvadoran guerrilla support system discussed in the Background Paper.

Your letter also requested an explanation regarding a perceived contradiction between a draft report and the final published version on the matter of the constancy of Nicaragua's support of the Salvadoran guerrillas. Changes made to the draft report do not represent any new information but rather provide a more accurate characterization of the situation.

The bill of particulars requested pertaining to actions undertaken by the Government of Nicaragua during the past five years against US armed forces is as follows: (1) On 7 June 1982, a Nicaraguan patrol boat fired on a US helicopter launched from the USS Trippe while in international waters; (2) On 2 September 1982, two armed Nicaraguan SP-260's conducted a fly-by of the USS Spruance in international waters; (3) On 11 January 1984, a US Army light observation helicopter in Honduras was fired on by the Nicaraguan Army from the Nicaraguan side of the border killing Warrant Officer Jeffrey Schwab.

Allegations that Salvadoran officers are involved in selling arms to the guerrillas are not substantiated by available evidence.

Questions of actions taken against US citizens or their property by the Government of Nicaragua are properly the purview of the State Department, as are questions concerning alleged human rights abuses and the release of Human Rights Commission reports.

The situation in Central America is very complex and important to the security interests of the United States. I hope this response is helpful in assisting your deliberations on this matter.

Sincerely,

Attachment
A/S

6372



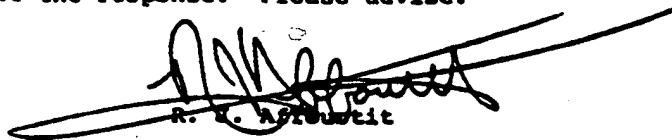
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20301

84 AUG 29 10:28
August 29, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT M. KIMMITT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Congressional Correspondence

Attached is a letter to Secretary Weinberger from Congressman Pease concerning operations in Central America. It is my understanding that similar letters (if not identical) went to State and CIA. In light of this, do you think it would be appropriate that one letter go back to Congress-
man Pease rather than three separate letters? The issue is significantly sensitive that NSC may want to coordinate the response. Please advise.


R. M. Kimmitt

Attachment

1 (P)
AM (SA)

OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Washington, D.C. 20515

August 17, 1984

The Honorable Casper Weinberger
Secretary of Defense
The Pentagon
Washington, D. C. 20301

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In early August, General Paul F. Gorman, Commander of the United States Command in Panama, told the Congress that a guerrilla offensive in El Salvador was imminent and that additional U. S. military aid to the Salvadoran Army was needed right away. The Congress responded on August 10 by including more than \$10 million in additional military aid in the FY '84 Supplemental Appropriations Bill. Moreover, the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee has recommended approval of \$123 million in military aid to El Salvador for Fiscal Year 1985.

I continue to have serious questions with respect to how the Salvadoran guerrillas secure the arms and ammunition they need to keep fighting. General Gorman and Ambassador Pickering are the most recent witnesses to appear before the Congress to argue that most of the weapons, ammunition, and equipment comes from communist bloc countries and is funneled through Nicaragua. But the reconnaissance photographs and other evidence cited, to date, to substantiate allegations of widespread Nicaraguan involvement in the Salvadoran insurgency are inconclusive. Accordingly, I am requesting specific and prompt answers to the following questions along with full compliance in my request for supporting documentation and intelligence information.

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68269

The Honorable Caspar Weinberger
August 17, 1984

Page Two

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On July 19, the final version of the same background paper was delivered to my office. But the aforementioned paragraph was changed to read as follows:

"The rate and composition of the supply flow to guerrillas in El Salvador has varied, depending on a number of factors. During the initial rapid build-up from November 1980 to January 1981, arms and ammunition made up much of the shipments and the flow in arms was heavy. Since then, the Salvadoran guerrillas and their mentors in Managua have varied the flow of arms and supplies, depending on their tactical requirements and the interdiction efforts they have encountered. Throughout, there has been a steady flow of ammunition, explosives, medicines, and clothing. There have also been sporadic increases in the movement of guerrilla weapons to meet the demands of planned offensives or the organization of new guerrilla groups."

Apparently, your judgment on arms flow from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerrillas changed substantially in the space of three weeks. How could the arms flow from Nicaragua be sporadic at the end of June with the needs of the guerrillas being basically satisfied and then be described by mid-July as a steady flow being directed from Managua? (In this time frame, there was no semblance of a guerrilla offensive in El Salvador. There was no appreciable increase in the number of Salvadoran guerrillas taking up guns. There was no significant interdiction of smuggled arms or ammunition by the Salvadoran Army despite constant U. S. surveillance.) Please explain the obvious shift in your position.

For more than three years, our government has been actively supporting the efforts of the Salvadoran armed forces who are trying to stop arms flow from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerrillas. Our intelligence-gathering capabilities have been trained on this supply relationship. Please provide me with a complete and factual report on the material support (as distinguished from moral, political or diplomatic support) given by Nicaragua to the FMLA insurgents in El Salvador. I expect to receive solid estimates of amounts, types of supplies, and dates and places of delivery.

The Honorable Casper Weinberger
August 17, 1984

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(4) How many times have shipments of arms and/or ammunition from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerrillas by air, sea, or land been interrupted and captured from April 1981 to the present? Please tell me what was captured, when, where, and how.

(5) Please submit the following bill of particulars pertaining to actions of the current Government of Nicaragua:

- a) a listing of all actions taken by the Government of Nicaragua that show damage to the lives or property of U. S. citizens within Nicaragua;
- b) a listing of all damage to the lives or property of U. S. citizens or of citizens of other countries resulting from actions of the Government of Nicaragua outside of the boundaries of Nicaragua; and
- c) a listing of any actual actions undertaken by the Government of Nicaragua during the past five years against U. S. armed forces or defense installations.

(6) What information do you have concerning allegations that the Salvadoran guerrillas are able to buy arms and/or ammunition from some Salvadoran Army officers. In particular, I insist upon seeing any and all classified documents concerning the involvement of Salvadoran Army Colonel Elmer Gonzales Araujo in the selling of U. S. guns to the guerrillas.

(7) If Salvadoran President Duarte is to succeed in restoring the rule of law to his war-torn country, ending human rights abuses, and promoting democratic values, then he must be able to assert control over the Salvadoran armed forces and to discipline some officers. In particular, I am concerned about the cold-blooded slaughter of as many as 74 peasants at Los Hojas on February 22, 1983. Consider this a request to see copies of all the cable traffic that relates to the Los Hojas massacre, including letters from Ambassador Hunter, sent from the U. S. Embassy in San Salvador to the State Department in Washington, D. C. between February 21, 1983 and March 31, 1983.

Why hasn't the official report of the Human Rights Commission of the Government of El Salvador pertaining to the massacre at Los Hojas been released? What disciplinary action has been taken, to date, against the Salvadoran Army officers found to be responsible for the bloodshed at Los Hojas, including Colonel Elmer Gonzales Araujo and Captain Carlos Alfonso Figueron Morales?

Your prompt attention and straightforward response to these questions and requests as soon as possible (preferably in advance of the Congress returning after Labor Day) would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,



Don J. Pease
Member of Congress

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REMARKS

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